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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
NATIONAL FOREIGN ASSESSMENT CENTER16 December 1981  
Information as of 1200SITUATION REPORT: POLAND

Fragmentary and unconfirmed reports indicate continuing strike activity and government efforts to break up strikes and sit-ins. The US Embassy believes that the strike at the large steel plant in Warsaw has been broken, but as in other cases workers may move back in after the police and troops leave. According to the press, diplomatic sources in Bonn report that security forces used tear gas and fired shots in the air to rout workers at the Ursus tractor plant. [REDACTED]

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Western travelers claim that there have been clashes between students and soldiers at Warsaw University. Students apparently are preparing to demonstrate tomorrow in one of Warsaw's major squares. This day is the 11th anniversary of the shooting of workers in Gdansk and could become the occasion for many Poles to express spontaneously their dissatisfaction with martial law. There has been no evidence of widespread student disobedience, but the regime would act quickly to disperse any student demonstration before it became a catalyst for the populace. [REDACTED]

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Solidarity's surviving leaders--at least those at the center--may view non-violent, passive resistance as the best way for the union to survive martial law as a coherent organization. [REDACTED]

the union opposes the student demonstration tomorrow and has advised members not to resist when strikes are broken up.

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[REDACTED] reports Walesa's view that strikes should be used only in those factories where the chances of success are greatest. [REDACTED]

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Some local militant Solidarity chapters, however, may resort to industrial sabotage. Unconfirmed reports from travelers say that miners in Silesia may blow up their mine entrances, and workers occupying shipyards in Gdansk have threatened to destroy them if Walesa is not released. In the event of such actions, the prospects for a major violent confrontation would increase greatly because the regime would feel obliged to act quickly and with major force to prevent the destruction of the country's economic capital. [REDACTED]

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TOP SECRET

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[redacted] the presence in the Warsaw area of Polish troops drawn from five divisions; the aggregate total of troops is about two-and-a-half divisions. An additional seven Polish divisions have moved personnel to six other areas where violence may have been expected, Gdansk, Olsztyn, Katowice, Wroclaw, Poznan, and Bydgoszcz. There is still little information available regarding the activity of these troops.

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### Soviet Activity

Hungarian First Secretary Kadar departed today for Moscow to attend the celebration for Brezhnev's 75th birthday on Saturday. Other Eastern bloc leaders, including Romanian leader Ceausescu, will also be there. The Polish representative remains a question since Jaruzelski clearly will not attend. Moscow is obviously using the opportunity to discuss the Polish situation. A communique endorsing Polish actions might emerge, though no formal Warsaw Pact meeting is scheduled.

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Reuter reported that, according to Warsaw TV, former Polish First Secretary Gierek has been taken to Moscow "for security reasons." The report, however, is probably unfounded according to FBIS.

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Since yesterday, the Soviet media have begun to take a more shrill line, making accusations of US interference in Poland and admitting that strikes have occurred. Although still seeking to play down tensions, the Soviets' public commentary suggests some decline in their confidence that Jaruzelski will be able to manage the situation alone.

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We are still unable to confirm press reports that Soviet transports flew to a Warsaw airfield last night. [redacted] the only Soviet transports seen today at the main airfield near Warsaw were an aircraft assigned to Marshal Kulikov, who has been in Warsaw since 7 December, and two other aircraft that are routinely seen in Warsaw and are probably for liaison support of Soviet forces in Poland.

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There continues to be no evidence of preparations by Soviet combat forces to intervene in Poland. Several Soviet ships, which were noted in Baltic Sea waters near the Polish coast several days ago, probably remain there to perform intelligence collection missions. [REDACTED]

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MEMORANDUM FOR: DCI

These Talking Points were prepared by the Task Force & reviewed by Bob Gates.

Please note that we have not been able to confirm a day press reports of Soviet aircraft landing in Poland. [redacted] Soviets at the Warsaw airport,

[redacted] but no Soviet flight activity. [redacted]

Date 16 Dec 81

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